

Message Text

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SUBJ: 25TH PARTY CONGRESS: COMPOSITION OF DRAFT RESOLUTION
COMMISSION BREZHNEV'S CC REPORT

1. SUMMARY. ALL MEMBERS OF THE CPSU POLITBURO AND SECRETARIAT WERE ELECTED FEBRUARY 29 TO THE CONGRESS' COMMISSION ON A DRAFT RESOLUTION REGARDING BREZHNEV'S CC REPORT (HEREAFTER REFERRED TO AS "COMMISSION"). ELECTIONS OF LESSER POLITICAL FIGURES DO NOT APPEAR TO INDICATE THAT ANY SURPRISES ARE IN STORE IN THE MUCH MORE SIGNIFICANT CENTRAL COMMITTEE ELECTIONS LATER THIS WEEK. HOWEVER, THE RELATIVELY SMALL SIZE OF THE COMMISSION, AND THE FAILURE TO INCLUDE A LARGE NUMBER OF CONGRESS PRESIDUM MEMBERS, REPRESENT A CHANGE IN PRACTICE FROM THE LAST TWO CONGRESSES. END SUMMARY.

2. THE POLITBURO AND SECRETARIAT LEADERSHIP OF THE CPSU, AS AT THE LAST TWO CONGRESSES, HAS BEEN ACCORDED FULL PROTOCOL HONORS IN BEING NAMED TO THE COMMISSION. BREZHNEV WAS ELECTED CHAIRMAN, IN KEEPING WITH THE PRACTICE OF THE 23RD AND 24TH CONGRESSES.

3. THE COMMISSION HAS A MEMBERSHIP OF 111, REPRESENT-
ING A LARGE REDUCTION FORM THE 150 MEMBERS ELECTED AT THE

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24TH AND 125 ELECTED AT THE 23RD. ALSO, THIS REDUCTION

CONTRASTS SHARPLY WITH THE LARGE INCREASE IN CONGRESS PRESIDIUM MEMBERS AT THIS CONGRESS, AS COMPARED WITH THE TWO PREVIOUS CONGRESSES.

4. AT THE 23RD AND 24TH PARTY CONGRESSES ELECTION TO THE CONGRESS PRESIDIUM WAS ALMOST AS AUTOMATIC INDICATOR OF ELECTION TO THE COMMISSION. THIS WAS NOT THE CASE AT THE 25TH. IN 1966 ONLY 14 OF THE 75 CONGRESS PRESIDIUM MEMBERS WERE NOT INCLUDED ON THE COMMISSION; IN 1971 ONLY 12 OF 75 WERE NOT INCLUDED. AT THE 25TH PARTY CONGRESS, HOWEVER, 49 (OR 41%) OF THE 120 MEMBERS OF THE CONGRESS PRESIDIUM WERE NOT ELECTED TO THE COMMISSION.

5. IN ADDITION, AT THE 23RD AND 24TH CONGRESSES 64 AND 87 MEMBERS RESPECTIVELY WERE ADDED TO THE COMMISSION WHO HAD NOT BEEN ELECTED TO THE CONGRESS PRESIDIUM. AT THE 25TH PARTY CONGRESS, HOWEVER, ONLY 40 PEOPLE NOT ON THE CONGRESS PRESIDIUM WERE ELECTED TO THE COMMISSION; OF THESE 40, ONLY 3 SERVED ON OTHER ORGANS ELECTED BY THE CONGRESS WHILE AT THE PREVIOUS TWO CONGRESSES MANY OF THE ADDITIONS CAME FROM MEMBERS OF THE CONGRESS ORGANS).

6. MOST OF THE PRESIDIUM MEMBERS ELECTED AT THE 25TH CONGRESS AND NOT INCLUDED ON THE COMMISSION WERE ELECTED TO THE PRESIDIUM FOR THE FIRST TIME AT THIS CONGRESS (39 OF THE 49), AND WERE A REPRESENTATIVE MIX OF ALL INSTITUTIONS REPRESENTED ON THE PRESIDIUM. THIRTEEN OF THE GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS ON THE PRESIDIUM -- INCLUDING MOST OF THE REPUBLIC REPRESENTATIVES AND MOST OF THE DEPUTY CHAIRMEN OF THE USSR COUNCIL OF MINISTERS -- WERE NOT ELECTED TO THE COMMISSION. TEN OBKOM FIRST SECRETARIES WERE OMITTED AS WELL. ADDITIONS TO THE COMMISSION (THOSE NOT ON THE CONGRESS PRESIDIUM) CLEARLY FAVORED THE PARTY APPARATUS. OF THOSE WHOSE POSITION COULD BE IDENTIFIED, 16 WERE APPARATUS OFFICIALS WHILE ONLY 6 WERE GOVERNMENT FUNCTIONAIRES.

7. IT IS DIFFICULT TO ASSESS THE POLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE CONGRESS PRESIDIUM AND THE COMMISSION. SEVERAL, HOWEVER, SEEM NOTEWORTHY. THE FOLLOW-
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ING INDIVIDUALS WERE MEMBERS OF THE PRESIDIUM OF THE 25TH PARTY CONGRESS, AND MEMBERS OF THE RESOLUTION COMMISSION AT THE 24TH CONGRESS, BUT WERE NOT ELECTED TO THE COMMISSION AT THIS CONGRESS: A. ASKAROV (FIRST SECRETARY ALMA-ATA OBKOM), A.M. BORODIN (FIRST SECRETARY KUSTANAY OBKOM), A.P. LYASHKO (UKHRAINIAN COUNCIL OF MINISTERS), S.I. MANYAKIN (FIRST SECRETARY OMSK OBKSOM), Z. N. NURIYEV (DEPUTY CHAIRMAN USSR COUNCIL OF MINISTERS) AND A. K. CHERNYY (FIRST

SECRETARY KHABOROVSK KRAIKOM).

8. IN ADDITION, N.K. BAYBAKOV (CHAIRMAN OF GOSPLAN) AND V.E. DYMSHITS (CHAIRMAN OF GOSSNAB) WERE NOT INCLUDED, ALTHOUGH BOTH HAD BEEN ELECTED TO THE CONGRESS PRESIDIUM. BOTH OF THEIR ORGANIZATIONS WERE CRITICIZED BY SOME SPEAKERS AT THE CONGRESS; NEITHER OF THEM WAS ON THE RESOLUTIONS COMMISSION AT THE 24TH. PERHAPS THE MOST INTERESTING ADDITION TO THE COMMISSION WAS I.Z. SOKOLOV (THE NEW SECOND SECRETARY OF THE UKRAINE); HE WAS ONE OF ONLY 3 FROM ALL OTHER CONGRESS ORGANS TO BE ELECTED TO THE COMMISSION.

9. COMMENT: IN EVALUATING THE COMPOSITION OF VARIOUS BODIES AT THE CONGRESS, WE ASSUME THAT SELECTION OF PERSONNEL FOR THEM REPRESENTS A PLANNED DECISION-MAKING PROCESS WITHIN THE CPSU LEADERSHIP AIMED AT SINGLING OUT VARIOUS INDIVIDUALS FOR RECOGNITION. THUS THE INCLUSIONS AND OMISSIONS ARE POTENTIALLY SIGNIFICANT. SINCE THE PATTERN OF ELECTIONS TO THE COMMISSION AND TO THE CONGRESS PRESIDIUM AT THIS CONGRESS IS SOMEWHAT DIFFERENT FROM THAT OF THE 23RD AND 24TH CONGRESSES, WE BELIEVE THE NEW PATTERN IS WORTH NOTING. AT THIS POINT WE CANNOT SAY WHETHER THE ELECTIONS TO THE COMMISSION ARE INDICATORS OF FUTURE ELECTIONS OF THE PARTY'S LEADING ORGANS. IN ANY CASE, THERE IS NOTHING IN THIS MATERIAL TO SUGGEST THAT THE POLITBURO OR SECRETARIAT LEADERS ARE IN ANY DIFFICULTY. STOESEL

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